7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 MK1 Lebanon MK1

POPULATION

MUGHIR is the locus of activity of a grand total of about 581 people. This population can be divided into four clearly distinguishable component groups as follows:

Core Group	320
Peripheral to Core	13
"Women"	30 plus
Mawâli	13
	381 plus

Numerically, all of the smaller or "subsidiary" groups are insignificant as compared to the Core. Of the three, the "Women" (*dhâtiyya*) are the most numerous, but they are present in the village, as their name suggests, only during part of the year. As far as the members of the Core Group are concerned, the smaller components of the population are socially, as well as numerically, insignificant, and inquiries about them invariably elicited bored, uninterested responses and comments like, "What do you want to know about them for? They are not from here, they do not belong among us."

In their own eyes and in the eyes of the law, the members of the Core Group, 320 strong, *are* the village, whereas the three subsidiary component groups in the population are outsiders whose residence in the village is either periodic or more or less temporary. Hereafter, we will be concerned with the Core Group only, but, since they are of considerable interest, the Subsidiary Groups will be discussed in some detail in Appendix A.

THE CORE GROUP

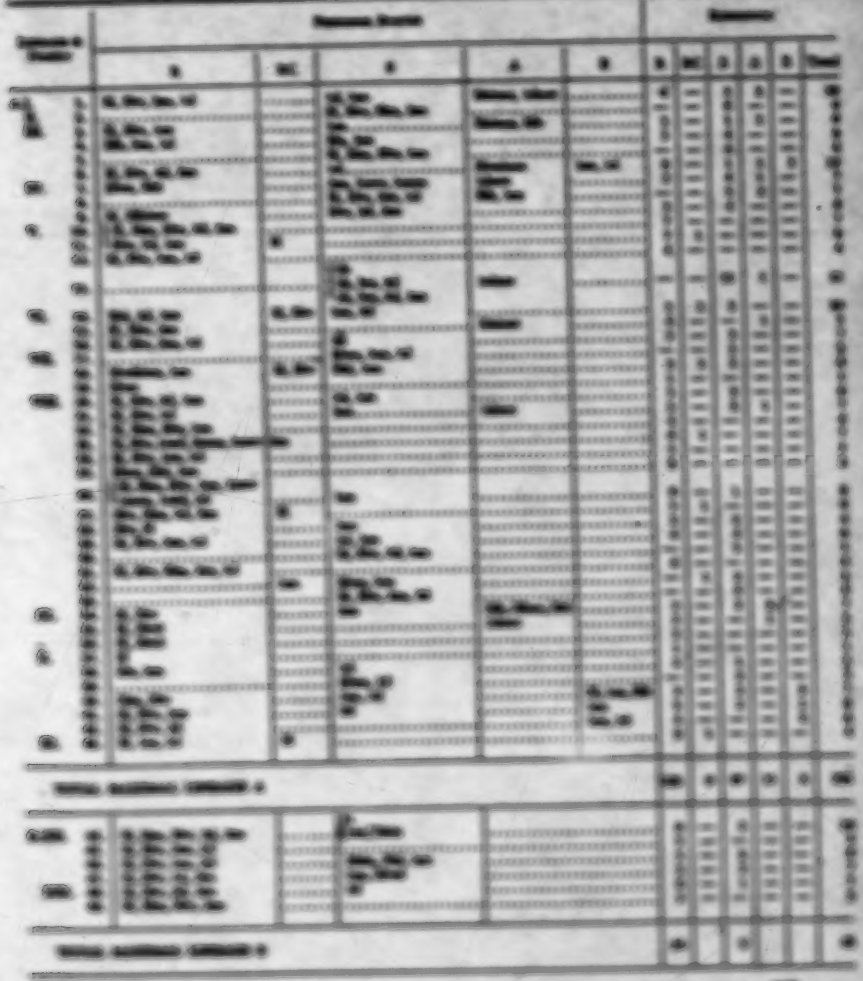
Table 1 presents a considerable amount of data on the Core Group. We need not concern ourselves at this point with the very important question of residence status, which appears in numerical form in this table.

The essentials of the lineage system which is indicated in the table are as follows: The members of the Core Group consider themselves to be direct descendants of a man named Mansour Jarjis al-Khouri who, with his three sons, migrated to the site of the present village from Jabal Hawran, south of Damascus, after a few years' sojourn in Baalbek. The youngest members of the Core Group at present

621
613
614
512

being, variously according to the particular position, to the sixth, eleventh, twelfth, or thirteenth generation in descent from Mangar Jorjis, he being counted as the first generation. The male part of the Core Group is divided into three

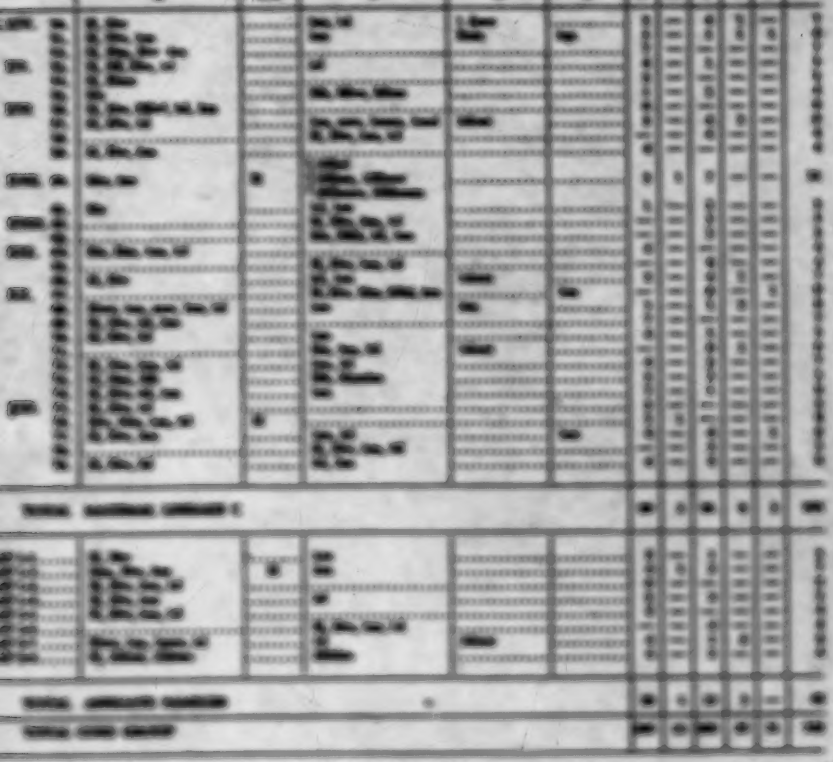
Table 1. Core Group: Patronym, or Lineage, Numbers and Segments [1]

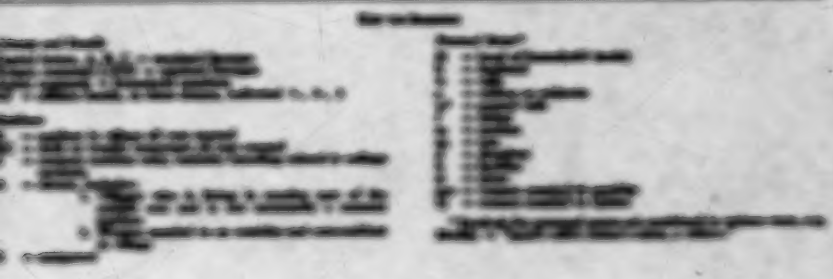


[1] [See key to symbols on page 49 -- Ruth]

621
618
64
512

TABLE 1. CASE GROUP: PERSONNEL BY LANGUAGE, PROFICIENCY AND EXPERIENCE—Continued





7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

621
613
614

large kin groups each of which consists of the descendants (reckoned patrilineally) of one of the three sons of the founder. These kin groups are called Maximal Lineages in this study, and they are designated by the capital letters A, B, and C. Each Maximal Lineage is subdivided into a number of smaller kin groups which herein are called Minimal Lineages, designated by Roman numerals. Four Minimal Lineage consists of from one to fourteen households, each represented by a number in Arabic numerals. Minimal Lineages, Minimal Lineages, and households are distinct social units, recognized as such by their members. This whole group is exclusively Greek Orthodox in religion.

In addition to the descendants of the founder of the village, the Core Group also includes eight households each of which is called in this study an Affiliate Family. The villagers themselves do not have any special term for them, and it should be emphasized that the eight families do not cohere as a unit. The status of Affiliate Family was achieved in every case by a man from another village or district first settling in the village and then marrying a member of the Core Group. The man himself always remains an outsider in the eyes of the Core Group, but his children have Core Group relatives through their mother. The heads of some of the present Affiliate Families are still in the position of technical outsider. The head of AF1-2, however, belongs to the fourth generation of his family to live in the village. "He is from here, but it is a new family," was the way in which his status was described.

The Affiliate Families have been divided into three arbitrary classes in an attempt to indicate the differing degree to which they have been accepted as members of the in-group. This is the writer's conceptualization, not that of the villagers, so far as he knows. Class 1 appears to have been fully accepted in every sense, except that exclusively patrilineal descent from the founder cannot be claimed. The distinction between Class 1 and Class 2 is rather subjective on the writer's part and may not be valid. Class 3, however, is definitely marginal in status, and an important reason for this is that the founders of the families in the village were not Greek Orthodox, and the religious affiliation of some of their children is rather dubious.

It might be said at this point that no one was able to demonstrate the descent of Minimal Lineage XII either from the village founder or from the founder of Maximal Lineage C, although its members claim patrilineal descent from the village founder. A genealogy of the lineage covers 3 inch seven generations, which is in line with the depth of the other Minimal Lineages. It was generally agreed that a woman in one of the earliest generations of the lineage married a man of A.III, but it was quite obvious that in terms of loyalty and cohesion XII belonged to C. It is entirely possible that lineage XII was once in the position of the present Affiliate Families.

The structure of the Core Group will be considered in greater detail in the

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 19[illegible] ME1 Lebanon ME1

621
613
614

TABLE 2: LINEAGE NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS AND POPULATION BY RANDOMIZE*

Maximal and Minimal Lineages	Number of Households	Population					
		R	RC	S	A	E	Total
A	45/44	123	9	107	12	9	252
I	5	6	—	3	2	—	10
II	1	—	—	4	—	—	4
III	4	14	—	10	3	3	31
IV	3	4	—	13	3	—	20
V	4/3	10	1	11	1	—	23
VI	3	14	2	3	1	—	22
VII	3	3	2	3	—	—	10
VIII	14	31	3	26	1	—	61
IX	3	4	—	2	4	—	12
X	4	12	—	7	—	4	23
XI	1	3	1	—	—	—	4
B	4	34	—	6	—	—	40
III	4	23	—	7	—	—	30
IIII	2	11	—	1	—	—	12
C	30/31	90	2	61	6	5	164
IIIV	3	12	—	5	2	1	20
IIV	3	7	—	4	—	—	11
IIVI	4/3	13	—	8	2	—	23
IIVII	2	4	1	9	—	—	14
IIVIII	2	—	—	10	—	—	10
IIIX	3	6	—	6	1	—	13
IIX	4	10	—	20	3	1	34
IIXI	3	10	1	10	—	1	22
Affines Residue	6	20	1	12	3	—	40
Core Group Total	87/90	260	12	140	30	10	520

* [illegible] symbols for Table 1.

chapter on the social structure of the village. Table 2 indicates the relative size of the lineages in successive iterative fashion from Table 1.

"There are as many of us there as there are here," it was said. Material evidence of the consequences of emigration have already been observed in the elevated houses and the fifty-odd ruined houses in the village.

In terms of reduction of potential population, the following facts should be noted: (1) In Maximal Lineage B, now so small, there were, before emigration, six minimal lineages. Four of these, referred to later as "favoured" lineages, have completely disappeared through emigration. There is one other one in Maximal Lineage C. (2) Table 7 indicates the number of permanent and long-standing

Table 7. Permanent Emigrants, Minimal Lineages of Guild of Shoemakers

Lineage	Men		Women	
	Alive	Dead	Alive	Dead
I	—	—	—	—
II	—	—	—	—
III	9	—	4	—
IV	1	—	3	—
V	4	—	1	—
VI	3	—	1	—
VII	3	—	—	—
VIII	4	3	1	—
IX	—	—	—	—
X	6	3	1	—
XI	1	—	3	—
XII	3	—	1	1
XIII	1	—	—	—
XIV	1	—	—	—
XV	1	—	1	—
XVI	4	3	3	—
XVII	—	—	—	1
XVIII	—	—	—	—
XIX	3	3	—	—
XX	—	—	3	—
XXI	4	1	1	—
AP	—	1	3	—
	—	—	—	—
Total	49	11	23	1

emigrants, forty-four in all, who were recorded. They are mostly a sample, selected because they were or are siblings of present heads of households, of the total number who emigrated. Of these thirty-eight departed between 1904 and 1914, sixteen between 1919 and 1926. No one in the village pretends that these people have not gone for good. In this respect, they are rather distinct from the eleven "emigrants" noted in Tables 1 and 2. The latter are nearly all young adults who have left recently (all for Australia). Of them it cannot be stated whether their emigration will be permanent or not.

As far as was learned, five of the present heads of households are returned emigrants, in addition to at least two women of reproductive status. The heads of households appear to have re-entered the life of the village without introducing many changes in the culture.

It was not determined to what extent remittances from emigrants contribute to the present income of the village as a whole. Specific examples of it indicated that the process still continues, but various residents reported that it is on the decrease.

WELFARE

In a very few cases of total incapacitation, individuals have had to be placed in public institutions for care. Otherwise, the village takes care of its own unfortunates, in conformance with the traditional attitudes of self-sufficiency. A unit of the Lebanese Red Cross visits the village at regular intervals to provide medical care for those who need it, but have been unable or unwilling to go to a doctor in the city. There is a regular, and entirely traditional, mechanism for caring for families who get into financial straits. A close friend of the family, who has learned of the situation because of his closeness, goes to each household in the village saying, "There is among us a family in need. I am going to give them some money; how much are you willing to give?" It is very hard here to ask for [illegible] whom the collection is being made, and a contribution which is offered under such conditions may be refused by the collector. The strict anonymity which accompanies this behavior suggests that even in such a tight-knit group as the village keeping up appearances is a conscious value. Clique and lineage structure undoubtedly contribute to this.

HIGHER EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONS

Everyone in the village, except for a handful among the very old, can literate. A quite respectable number have received at one university college education. The significance of education in the village will be discussed in the next chapter; here it is appropriate to consider only the training which education has an occupation.

Literacy itself is no rarity in Lebanon. In fact, among the Christians, at least, one can safely say that it is the expected thing. Mere literacy alone would raise one's aspirations only above that of manual laborer, in the city. For professional status or for governmental positions college education are prerequisite. Medicine and the law require additional training beyond college which no one in Khanjil has recently undertaken. The number of positions open to ordinary college graduates which are in line with the individual's ambitions (including a decent and cultured person) are rather limited in Lebanon, and many such persons must be satisfied with whatever they can find. In consequence, a certain restlessness and dissatisfaction is to be found among those who have had advanced education.

AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS

Khanjil depends, and has always depended, upon crops which do not require rain as irrigation in the growing season. In order, the most important are olives, figs and grapes. Of these the major cash crop is olives. This has not always been true. Up to 1914 the major cash crop in the village, and in Lebanon as a whole, was the [illegible]-worm cocoon, fed on mulberry leaves. Sericulture has not died out completely in Lebanon, and it is still fairly strong in the Kisserwan, Kura, Shtura, and Bsaal districts (Hitrun, 1948b, p. 140), but it has long since lost its economic

KINSHIP STRUCTURE AND MARRIAGE PATTERNS

[illegible]

In the chapter "Population" the kinship structure of the village was discussed in a preliminary way. It was pointed out that everyone in the Core Group except those in the Jukkum Families, is patrilineally descended from the founder of the village. Most are also matrilineally descended from him. These descendants are divided into three so-called Maximal Lineages which at the present time appear to have little more than genealogical significance. Membership in a given maximal lineage is based on patrilineal descent from one of the three sons of the founder. These three brothers were the founders of the three maximal lineages. Each maximal lineage is subdivided into a number of so-called Minimal Lineages which are of unequal size and governmental depth. Membership in a minimal lineage is, again, based upon patrilineal descent from its founder, and the name of the founder is the name of the lineage. The names of the minimal lineages are the "family" names which the villagers give when they are required to in southeastern situations outside the village. Among such situations are the filling out of government forms like identity cards, school and college registrations, and so forth. Each family, lineage, or lineage segment owns rarely used in the village itself for personal identification, and this practice was today. Every individual, male or female, has his own name by which he calls his father's sibling, by rule, is always different from his own. (In Mawadi, there is only one exception to this rule, and in this case the birth and naming of the child after his father occurred in Ayemada.) Thus, if Jacob is his son of Simon, he is known as Jacob Simon. In principle, this usage is exactly the same as that of the Bedouin who would call him Jacob Ibn Simon. In Mawadi, the ibn ("son of") is omitted, but it is certainly understood.

Theoretically, Jacob Simon, if asked, could complete the naming of himself by adding his grandfather's and great-grandfather's names, and so on, until he came to the name of the founder of the maximal lineage, and this name is the name of the lineage. In practice, the intermediary steps are omitted, and he would give, if required, his own, his father's and his lineage founder's names (cf. Tumin, 1961, p. 210). Occasionally a man will be known by his own and his father's, rather than his father's, name as a second name. Such cases are considered also

specialty, and are usually due to some such fact as the death of the father in the son's infancy. After she is married, a woman continues to be known by her own and her father's names, but if she is asked to give a family name, she will give her husband's rather than her father's family name (cf. Crossgrove, 1978, p. 99).

The unrelated lineages, then, are mere groups. Each lineage name identifies the various females as members of a common descent group who are, also, kin relatives. When pressed, everyone who was asked admitted that he was also related to all the members of the unrelated lineage, "well of course all of us is blood or bone (*wiqi*) to Mbapar [*sulja ni Ekiwoi*]." Of these two vague connections, the latter, while one accord to be the strongest in fact, many young adults have quite vague or to the unrelated lineage affiliation of many of the unrelated lineages. To put the matter in another way, it appears that in many cases a stranger identifies him- or herself with the village or a kin group from with the unrelated lineages. Even here, the writer would suggest that the sense of village identification is based possibly more on the interests of common residence than on the kinship bond of common descent from a very remote ancestor. At this point, the possibility must be raised that common descent from Mbapar [*sulja ni Ekiwoi*] and the various descent patterns indicated in Table 4 and Figure 1 are possibly or wholly fictional. As it is, it can be seen that the ultimate descent of Unrelated Lineages 010 and 020 are unknown or in dispute. See 0 0 in Index, it is nevertheless a significant symbol of the conceptual unity of the village, a conception which is put in terms of kinship. A basically similar concept is held by the people of Dimolitok in regard to their genealogical origins (Downs, 1970, p. 162).

Returning to the unrelated lineages, we have seen that they identify by name people who are considered to be relatives. Several people said that the only ones from "other towns" are the members of one's unrelated lineage. In addition to this, however, unrelatedness does seem to count about equally as relatives. One exception of this exception to prohibited emphasis must be postponed till later in this chapter.

3) As we have/also pointed, lineage-mates are the only relatives who count when the they count *kot*. In a negative function, lineage-mates are people who should not marry each other. There is no strict rule about this, and marriages within unrelated lineages do occur. They are, in fact, significantly numerous in lineage 110, which is by far the largest lineage in the village (see Table 10). Barring one or two cases, it must nevertheless be emphasized that marriages within a unrelated lineage appear to be avoided in general. They would be much more frequent than they are without violation of the taboo rule against the marriage of their relatives. In a positive function, lineage-mates may inherit from each other, whereas unrelatedness of kinship, no matter how close they may be, can never do so.

It remains to add incidentally that the unrelated lineages have very many functions other than those which have just been outlined. There are, apparently, no lineage feasts, and if lineages ever act as units on any basis, no such behavior was observed or an

[illegible]

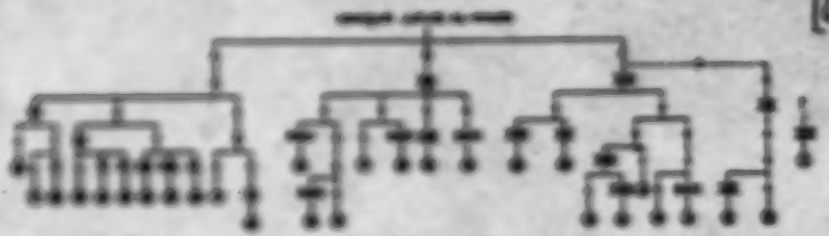
[illegible]

Table [illegible] Various Components and Phases of Work, according to Construction Conditions

Construction	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13

Origin of Minimal Lineages. A word concerning the origin of the minimal lineages is in order (see Table 6 and Fig. 5, both of which are abstractions from village genealogies, showing males only, which were in the possession of the guide). The minimal lineages are clearly segmentations of the maximal lineages, but beyond this we cannot, unfortunately, make any very conclusive statements.

The widest scope of information, on many occasions and in many different ways, why certain ancestors were the eponymous founders of the minimal lineages. Were they, for example, famous men? No one ever was, even in regard to his own lineage. The only suggestion was that perhaps when the families grew too large, they divided. It was also repeatedly stated that it has only been during the last fifty years or so that lineage names have been used at all, because the govern-



A, B, C = Eponymous Ancestors of Maximal Lineages
I, II, III = Eponymous Ancestors of Minimal Lineages
(One) = Eponymous Ancestors of Deceased Lineages
Numbers on G = Number of Generations Descended from the Last Specifically Indicated Individual in Each Position

Fig. 5. Genealogies of Lineages

ment began to insist that everyone have a "family" name. "So they all assumed to their grandfathers." (The term "grandfather" was used loosely in the village, and Shaykh Jarjis al-Khuri was often referred to as "our grandfather.") No one could say why they "assumed to" a particular "grandfather" and not to another one. Thus, for some time the writer thought that perhaps the minimal lineages were recent arbitrary creations for the sake of providing names. It is possible, but it seems unlikely. Minimal Lineage III, for example, with its waqf trust, is an ancient institution, and there is no reason to suppose that it is exceptional in this respect.

Table 6 indicates that the families of the village were not very large or prolific at the time when most of the eponymous ancestors were actively alive, and hence the formation of the minimal lineages may have been an arbitrary procedure on the part of the descendants of certain men, though not nearly as recently as some informants seemed to suggest. Size of groups or families between them might have been deciding factors. The present sizes of the lineages, since there is such a wide range of size, offer no clue. Lineage VIII, which might have been expected to divide long ago on account of its size has not done so, and there are

615 no indications that it will. Yet there are possible signs of division in III and XII. Two men in these lineages are using rather than their father's name as a second name, one his grandfather's, and the other his great-grandfather's, name. The children are following this pattern, which may be the beginning of two new lineages. No explanation was available.

Both Table 8 and Figure 3 show that the lineages are of very unequal generational depth. In some cases this is because some lineages are older, genealogically, than others. In other cases, it is because some lineages have reproduced faster than others. These two factors combine to give a range of depth of from four to ten generations, if we follow Figure 3. The mode is six generations; the average is nearer seven than six.

It will be observed that the eponymous ancestors of lineages XII and XVI are placed in the fifth generation of descent from Mawan Jaeja-a-Kliaut in Table 8, whereas they appear in the third generation in Figure 3. The reason for this discrepancy is this: in both cases there are on the original genealogy men with the appropriate name and in the proper position in both generations. In each case, either man, the first or a grandson, could have been the eponymous ancestor, and no one knows which. The lineage names, represented by the letters A, B, and C, are all toponymous, being Abi Yamit, Abi Awwad, and Abi Nayr, respectively. Their men were Yamit, Awwad, and Nayr, respectively. Awwad and Nayr are represented as XII and XVI, respectively, because these two men (or two grandsons who were their namesakes), were the ancestors of present minimal lineages which bear their names. Figure 3 shows the eponymous ancestors of these [illegible] as the second of the additional generations to represent the resulting fact: The names of Minimal Lineages B and C are retained in the names of present minimal lineages, whereas the name of Minimal Lineage A, the largest, has been obliterated. This fact was recognized by the villagers, but they could see no any reason for it, or significance in it.

Figure 3 suggests that there are three patterns of derivation of minimal lineages: (1) derivation from sets of brothers; (2) derivation of one lineage from a father, of others from his younger sons; (3) derivation of one minimal lineage from another, e.g., the derivation of a lineage from one man, of another from his grandson.

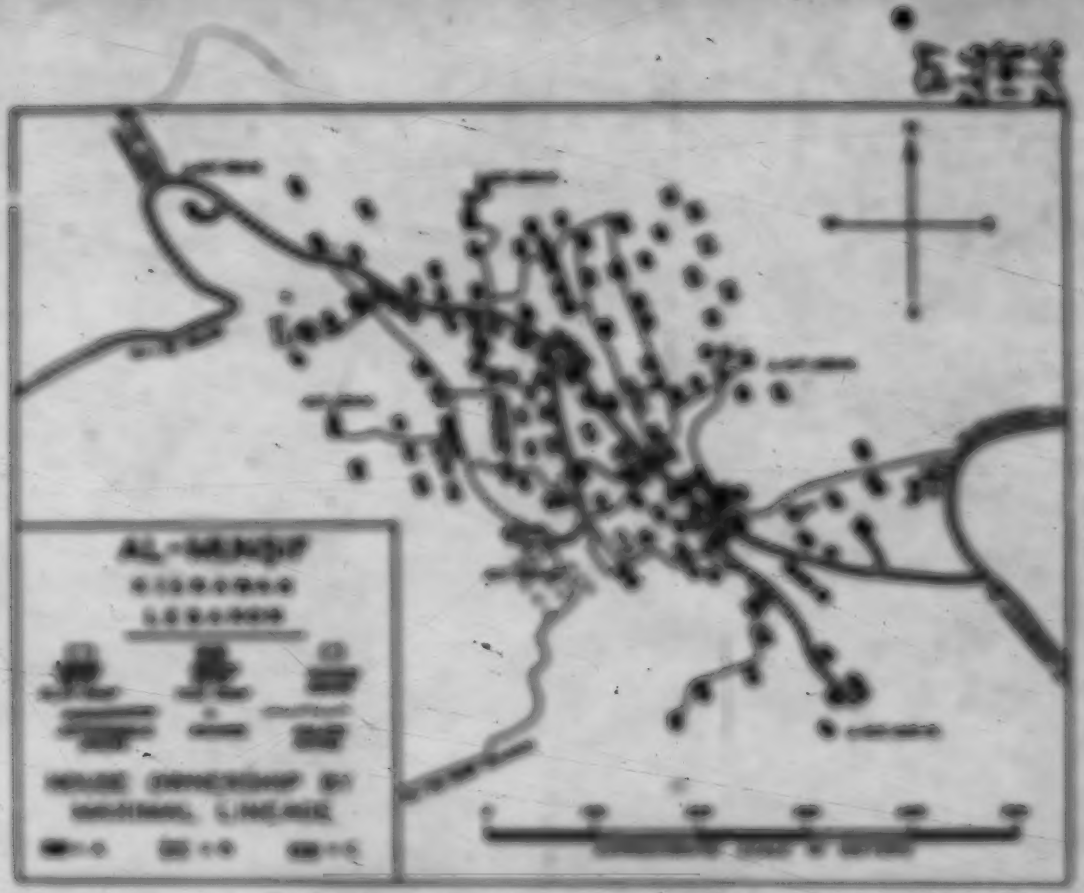
This entire argument has been severely handicapped by the fact that we must either accept the genealogy on which Table 8 and Figure 3 were based at its face value, or not give it any detailed consideration at all. The former course has been followed, but the possibility must be kept in mind that the genealogy may be very inaccurate. The Arabs, and other Semites, have always been fond of manipulating history in genealogical terms, with great distortion as a result. Doghmeni (1953, pp. 178–79) warns explicitly against taking Arab genealogies of any size at their face value.

[illegible]

673
601

The generic term for lineage which is used in Mawaji is 'eel (properly

[illegible]



[illegible] used purposely here, for the reciprocal use of *mamandan*, *parentid*, and *grandparental* terms by their respective referents is not meant literally by them nor is it to be taken literally in interpretation. These reciprocal usages are, it would seem, clear evidence of the semantic logic aspect of kinship terminology. In this case, the structure which is handled by the logic is the inverse unity which is felt to bind close blood relatives together. And so, the argument with which this discussion began has come full circle. We can easily perceive that the reciprocal use of close familial terms is, from the functional point of view above, "nonsensical," "dysfunctional," "non-functional," and so on. Viewed as terms of a semantic system, however, the usage terms are to be the source of significant insights one of which is that the usage serves a consistent function. Where, then, is the controversy? The answer should be that there really is none, that both the functional and the linguistic points of view are valid and necessary in the interpretation of kinship systems.

[illegible] One final point should be made. In actual practice, in Manali, the use of personal names by elders addressing juniors and by contemporaries addressing each other is more frequent than the use of vocative kinship terms.

MARRIAGE

RESIDENCE PATTERNS

[illegible] The Orthodox Church explicitly forbids the marriage of all types of first cousins. In Manali this means that if two first cousins wish to be married, they cannot be married by the village priest. They may, however, appeal to the bishop of the district, and he is empowered to grant a dispensation. If he does, he performs the ceremony himself.

There is no formal rule for or against the marriage of a person to a member of his own *mamandan* lineage. In Manali, however, it is considered a better idea to marry outside the *mamandan* lineage. The reason for this, according to one informant, is that all members of the *mamandan* lineage are close relatives, and it is a good idea for close relatives to marry because the children might be defective. The lineage gives volunteered the idea that, for example, a second cousin related to one through one's mother (wholly acceptable as a spouse) is more closely related as far as "blood" goes, after all, than a lineage-mate who is a fourth cousin. The informant did not deny the truth of this, but its significance was denied. Lineage-mates are all close relatives, sanctioned like, except first cousins and their parents, are not. This is the villagers' definition of the situation.

[illegible] At the present time, one's particular *mamandan* lineage affiliation appears to have no bearing whatever on the choice of spouse. It is insignificant whether one marries inside or outside one's *mamandan* lineage.

At this point, let us consider briefly Table 5 which indicates the closest degree of relationship, reckoned bilaterally, between the members of eighty-two married couples in Manali. Closest degree of relationship is specified because many of

the couples are related to each other in several ways. These data were obtained by [1952, 4-5] asking the informant to state the number of lives between the husband-wife pair on the genea charts. His immediate reaction was to count the lives patrilineally

TABLE 3. CURRENT DANCE OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SPOUSES

Spouses	Persons	Persons of Reference	Type of Relationship
First cousin	2	B.SD. 40	Cross, Matri. Lin.
		A.SD. 40	Ego, Matri. Lin.
First cousin, once removed	2	B.SD. 44	Cross, Matri. Lin.
		A.SD.SD. 20	Ego, Matri. Lin.
		C.SD.SD. 18	Ego, Matri. Lin.
		C.SD.SD. 18	Cross, Matri. Lin.
		C.SD. 47	Cross, Matri. Lin.
Second cousin	2	A.S. 1	Ego, Matri. Lin.
		A.SD. 4	Ego, Matri. Lin.
		B.SD. 40	Cross, Matri. Lin.
		A.SD. 10	Ego, Matri. Lin.
		C.SD.SD. —	Ego, Matri. Lin.
Second cousin, once removed	4	A.S. 38	Cross, Matri. Lin.
		A.SD.SD. 20	Ego, Matri. Lin.
		A.SD. 40	Ego, Matri. Lin.
		A.SD. 1	Ego, Matri. Lin.
		A.S. 40	Ego, Matri. Lin.
		C.SD.SD. 18	Cross, Matri. Lin.
Third cousin	10	A.SD.SD. 21	Ego, Matri. Lin.
		A.SD. 22	Cross, Matri. Lin.
		A.SD.SD. 23	Ego, Matri. Lin.
		A.SD.SD. 27	Ego, Matri. Lin.
		A.SD. 28	Ego, Matri. Lin.
		A.SD.SD. 29	Ego, Matri. Lin.
		A.SD.SD. 30	Ego, Matri. Lin.
		C.SD.SD. 77	Cross, Matri. Lin.
		C.SD.SD. 78	Cross, Matri. Lin.
		A.S. 117	Cross, Matri. Lin.
		A.SD. 3	Ego, Matri. Lin.
Third cousin, once removed	1	A.SD.SD. 27	Ego, Matri. Lin.
Fourth cousin, or more distant	34	—	—

with the husband as the primary reference. When A was explained to him that the [1952, 5-6] *closest relationship* patrilineally or matrilineally was desired, he did so, though it was clear that he thought it was unnecessary. He also admitted that he wasn't certain of all the relationships "through women." Beyond many of the spouses he said simply that the relationship was "far" or that there were "many" lines. These

[illegible] were born ethnically [illegible] than the "fourth cousin or more distant" category, which may well be inaccurate. Table 9 indicates the fact that a sample of close biological relatives (i.e. third cousins and closer) includes pairs of people who are not only members of different ethnical lineages, but of different matrilineal lineages as well; and this suggests sufficiently well the intricate web of kinship and marriage ties which connects different families and lineages.

Marriage within the village, that is, local endogamy, is very definitely preferred. Although exogamous marriages are more fairly numerous, this is a recent development which will be discussed later. For the purpose of this study, marriage with members of other villages in the Qumi, which have always occurred but relatively infrequently, are considered locally endogamous. (Defense of this definition will be presented in Part Two.)

Now let us turn to Table 10, which gives statistics on the present marriage patterns of the villagers, and considers, first, the inter-village marriages. The table does not illustrate the marriage patterns between lineages of the smallest lineage level. This is because no such patterns could be discovered in analyzing the census data.

Considering the columns which represent the type of inter-village marriage which have been contracted, from the primary informants of men, we observe that:

a. "A" men take "A" women 2 to 1 as against "B" and "C" women.
b. "B" men take "A" or "C" women 4 to 1, as against "B" women.
c. "C" men take "A" or "B" women 3 to 0, as against "C" women.

Looking at these same marriages from the point of view of the women concerned, it is seen that:

a. A large proportion (40 per cent) of "A" women have been taken by "B" and "C" men.
b. Of "B" women seventy-five per cent have been taken by "A" and "C" men.
c. Of "C" women forty-six per cent have been taken by "A" and "B" men.

To put the matter in another way:

a. There are 61 women who have been taken from their own maternal lineage.
b. There are 47 women who have been taken by their own maternal lineage.
c. There are 48 men who have taken wives from their own maternal lineage.
d. There are 48 men who have taken wives from other maternal lineages than their own.

(The discrepancy in the total number of men and women is due to the occurrence of second marriages. Inter-village marriages do not ordinarily affect the roughly 70-40 ratio of women to men in the total population because they involve an approximately equal number of men and women. In other words there is an approximately equal number of men and women available for inter-village marriage.)

Table 10. Clan Clans Marriages Partners on Lineage

Lineage	Marriage Village			Marriage Persons			Sp. of	Sp. Clans Village	Sp. Clans Neighbors	Sp. Clans Other Settlement	Sp. Clans Elsewhere
	Sp. Village Clan	Sp. Village Lin.	Clan Village Lin.	Sp. Village Clan	Sp. Village Lin.	Clan Village Lin.					
A	0	10	14	0	20	20	0	10	10	46	170
A1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	0	1	10
A2	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	2
A3	—	0	1	—	0	0	—	—	1	4	20
A4	—	1	2	—	0	1	—	—	2	2	20
A5	—	—	2	—	0	0	—	0	0	2	21
A6	—	1	1	—	1	—	—	1	1	2	10
A7	1	—	1	1	0	1	—	—	1	2	10
A8	1	7	1	0	0	0	—	6	0	10	40
A9	1	0	1	1	0	0	—	0	1	2	11
A10	1	1	1	1	—	0	0	0	1	0	0
A11	—	1	—	—	1	1	—	—	1	1	4
B	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	10
B1	—	1	0	—	0	7	—	1	0	0	30
B2	—	—	0	—	1	0	—	0	1	1	0
C	0	10	10	0	10	10	0	0	0	11	100
C1	0	—	0	0	1	1	—	1	1	1	20
C2	—	0	0	—	1	1	—	—	—	1	11
C3	0	—	0	0	0	0	—	0	0	1	10
C4	—	0	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	10
C5	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	1	1	10
C6	—	1	0	—	—	1	—	—	0	1	11
C7	—	0	0	—	0	0	—	—	0	0	10
C8	—	0	0	—	0	0	—	—	0	1	10
Unknown								—	1		
C9								1	0		
C10								—	1		
C11								0	—		

To put the matter in another way, for the village as a whole, marriages out-side matrilineal lineages and castes have an almost evenly evenly division. This is

what would be expected on the basis of chance alone in view of the following facts: (1) Individuals who choose spouses from inside the village, have a fifty-fifty choice, either to marry inside their maximal lineage or outside it. (2) By village marriage rules, this choice is entirely free.

The deviation from this overall pattern in the figures for the marriage patterns of the individual maximal lineages are, in all probability, due to the difference in size of the maximal lineages. "A" includes forty-eight per cent of the total population of the village. For "A" men, therefore, about half of the available women are also from "A" in the first place, in addition to the fact that there is a fifty-fifty chance of their choosing from "A." "B" is unmistakingly exogamous, both in regard to its men and its women. "B" has only six per cent of the total population of the village, divided among six households. Marriage within any one household would be virtually impossible because of incest regulations, and although it happens that members of any one of the households could, theoretically, marry into any of the others, there is no instance of it. (The one case of an inter-"B" marriage was between a man of XII and a "deceased" lineage.) Like "A" and "C," "B" people have a theoretical fifty-fifty choice between "B" and "non-B," but because of the small size of "B" the men and women are really forced to take from and marry into the other two maximal lineages. "C," the dairy-farm per cent of the total population, and, as might be expected, its marriage patterns reflect its middle position. Its contemporaneous to "A," "C" men show a moderately strong tendency to take their wives from the other two maximal lineages, but this tendency is not nearly as strong as it is in "B" in regard to its women, however, about the same situation obtains in "C" as in "A," that is, slightly under half of the women are taken by men from other lineages.

To summarize: "A" men tend to take wives from "A" because "A" is so large, "B" and "C" men tend to take their wives from "A" for the same reason, but actual count confirms this generalization. "B" men have taken eight from "A" and one from "C," "C" men have taken fourteen from "A" and three from "B."

One informant was conscious of these tendencies and one of the opinions that in the past, more than fifty years ago at least, they were more pronounced than they are now. This was explained by saying, in effect that "B" and "C" wanted to marry "A" because "A" was more distinguished. "And how did 'A' feel about it?" "Oh, some did not care, but some others minded a great deal." And a story was related of a person in the past with whom the family refused to have anything more to do after the person's marriage to a member of another maximal lineage than "A." His further examples could, however, be adduced. The informant also remarked emphatically that the conduct of the family had been resented, and that a would never happen in the present day.

The same time, the writer naturally questioned the hypothesis that until so early "A" was specifically endogamous, and that "B" and "C" were merely exogamous, but necessarily endogamous with regard to "A." The probability of

the truth of this notion of a dichotomous social organization was seen to consist [illegible] factors, viz: (1) The town split in population between "A" on one hand and "B" and "C" on the other. (2) The indisputable fact that there is a conceptual division of the village into an upper half (dominated by "A") and a lower half (dominated by "C"). (3) The aspect of all authorities that Arab kin groups tend to be endogamous and that Arab villages tend to be split into two factions (cf. Barnes, 1959, p. 402). (4) The apparent tendency for the present village groups to fall into the town half by the supposed dichotomies. (So many exceptions to this were discovered, that this factor was discarded before the main theory was.)

On this theory, the present patterns of extra-village marriage were interpreted as a recent "breakdown" caused indirectly by acculturation. It was granted that if the villagers felt that the integrity of the village as a unit was being seriously threatened by foreign influences, especially the lure of the city, there would be a tendency for the village as a unit to assume an even more important position as such in the villagers' eyes, so much so that matrilateral lineage ties would be greatly weakened. The widening of matrilateral lineage, losers of nobility, endogamy rules would be consistent with this tendency toward entrenchment.

This was a tempting and plausible theory. As time went on, however, it became impossible to support its line of reasoning with behavioural evidence. Moreover, the theory was found to run afoul of two sets of objective evidence as follows:

1. During the period to which the postulated "breakdown" of lineage marriage function and concomitant solidification of village unity would have occurred (c. 1900 to the present), marriages to outsiders became a definite element in village life. (Previously they had been sporadic and had consisted entirely of village men marrying Orthodox women whom they had met in other districts while doing migrant labor there. These women were eventually brought into the village and entirely assimilated.) These marriages to outsiders are, at present, well distributed among the lineages, and with only a very few exceptions those who have contracted them have been persons of solid repute and status in the village. Marriage to an outsider is not, therefore, by and large, the behavior of persons whose social status is questionable, nor does it lower the status of such individuals. Attitudes toward it range from indifference ("If it means whatsoever I fall in love with. If she is not from the village, it does not matter."), to mild disapproval, couched in practical terms ("It is worse, it is taking a big chance."), to moderately strong disapproval ("The children of the girls who do it will be lost to the village, and we will not be able to see them often."). As far as could be observed, however, there is no violent objection to it, and in most, only when social pressures are brought against it. It is not a social offense. Consequently, it is difficult to rationalize away the conflict between preferred village endogamy and marriage to outsiders by suggesting that the hypothesized commitment to village unity (represented by the development of two marriage choice within the village as a whole in place of choices solely endogamy) was a violent reaction to the behavior of social correctness.

[illegible]

3.3.1 3. Data on marriages contracted between 1960 and 1970 indicate that the present patterns in intra-village marriage were in operation in full force from the beginning of that period, and presumably before it. In this period, according to the fragmentary figures at hand, "A" contracted thirty-one marriages. Thirteen of these were within "A" itself. Of the remaining eighteen, there were ten men who took two wives from "B" and eight from "C", and there were eight women, two of whom were taken by "B," six by "C." "B" contracted eleven marriages. Two of these were within "B"; three men took from outside, one from "A," one from "C." Eight "B" women were taken by "A" and "C." "C" contracted twenty-four marriages, nine within itself, fifteen outside. Six men took from "A," one from "B," and eight women were taken by "A." This is naturally the same pattern as that illustrated by the figures for present marriages.

It should be added that even if all the evidence lined together properly, it would be difficult to conceive of an ordered change in a change in marriage patterns taking place in so short a time as in large a socio-culture that had already been in large a number of exceptions to the rule but in reality would be open to serious question anyway.

It is valid, then, that the present patterns of intra-village marriage are not a product of recent acculturation that they are, in fact, of long standing. Presumably they have been in effect ever since the very early days when the village had grown to be more than a single family group. Except for the very limited range of close family prohibited relations, the marriage system in Mawiyl is one of free choice within the village. The apparently different patterns among the mentioned lineages revealed in the figures are, in reality, functions of mathematical chance and therefore are not useful as cultural patterns at all.

3.3.2 In Mawiyl, specific marriage prohibitions apply within any group of relatives which consists of a married pair, their children, the original pair's siblings and their children. In other words, they apply to all first cousins, to aunts and nephews, uncles and nieces (very often of the same age in Mawiyl), and, of course, to parents and children. Marriage is also forbidden between any person and his grandparents or children, between whom a conventionalized siblingship is recognized.

The restriction on marriage between any kind of first cousin has been alluded to [illegible] Inasmuch as it is an important aspect of the kinship emphasis in the social organization, it requires considerable comment.

The extension of marriage prohibition to all first cousins is a Church rule. Presumably it is of so long standing among the Orthodox Arabs in their Christianity is. Originally, however, it was imposed upon the pagan Arabs approximately at the same time as their conversion, and it apparently displaced the system current at the time, which Muhammad formalized and incorporated into Islam. The key to this latter system is the preferential marriage of patrilateral parallel first cousins which is commonly known as [illegible]

In a strongly patrilineal system, patrilateral parallel cousins are the closest

THE PATTERNS OF CULTURE CHANGE*

THE PAST

TRADITIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE LEBANESE VILLAGE

[illegible] has described the social life of the traditional Middle East (including Lebanon) village as revolving around three major themes such ... which organizes action and facilities emotions and values. These themes are the land (Tannous, 1946, p. 264 ff.), kinship (ibid., p. 267 ff.), and religion (ibid., p. 269 ff.).

Under "land" Tannous addresses subsistence technologies, which are mainly agricultural technologies, and in general the actions, attitudes, and values of rural economic life. The major points are that the traditional peasant, who draws his entire subsistence from the land, feels toward it a rather intense personal devotion and sense of identification. In Lebanon, where individual private ownership is common, and based to large degree on inheritance from ancestors, these feelings are particularly intense.

In regard to kinship (we have previously discussed its importance as an organizing mechanism), the following quotation from Tannous, describing the social unit called *mutakawil* (*mutagh* in the present study), is a good summary:

> A member of all those who claim descent from the same paternal ancestor. The number of men families that make up a kinship group varies from village to village according to the age of the *mutakawil* and the occurrence of divergence factors that may split the group or a certain segment of its development or cause its growth. Its influence is felt by the individual in a variety of situations. From the start, the child learns that he should address every member of the unit as "uncle" or "aunt" or "cousin" or "grandfather" or "grandmother." As mentioned above, a sequence of a young man in many ways rather than endure the kinship group. [Tannous is generalizing to all Middle East villages and most of them, of course, unlike Ghazzin.] In times of serious conflict or trouble within the village, kinship loyalty seems itself and a kinship upon every member. (Tannous, 1946, p. 266.)

Of religion, Tannous says that it is a way of life in the traditional village, that it permeates life completely. In this connection, he writes about the peasant and his religion: "He may not know much about its dogmas or subscribe to their

* Two main points which are treated in this chapter have been published elsewhere (Patai, 1954); a somewhat different form.

is also a decent example of Sphere 3 (Sect Group)—it is a Greek Orthodox [illegible] endure in a Moorish area.

Consequently, for the purposes of this study in the light of Levi-Strauss's definition of "true endogamy," and in view of the point values of al-Qaisi, the marriages of Mustafa to members of other Qasr-i-Nigar are considered to be locally endogamous but it is remembered, also, that such marriages, though technically, have always been in the minority, for most Mustafas have always married each other.

The culture of Mosul therefore conforms to or ignores spheres in these two respects: (1) it is an endogamous local group (Sphere 2), within a small but not, necessarily endogamous local group, al-Qaisi, which surrounds a unit of which it is the cultural centre. (2) al-Qaisi, a district of my examined size, is a distinct sect group (Sphere 3).

When we turn to the internal organization of Mosul, we find that it is, according to the expectations of the theory, subdivided into lineages (in two orders of magnitude of which only one—the minimal lineage—seems functional significance at the present time), and that the lineages are subdivided into families (whether genuinely nuclear or extended cannot definitely be decided from the data at hand). However, we find that lineage exogamy rather than endogamy is preferred, and that marriage within the degree of relative who ordinarily constitutes extended families is explicitly against the Church law of marriage. In other words, Spheres 1 and 2 are present, but they do not conform to expectations in that they are not strictly endogamous.

The extended family exogamy rule in Mosul has already been discussed in such detail that further lengthy discussion of Sphere 1 is not necessary. Suffice it to repeat only that it is viewed as the product of conflict oversimilarities, the extent between pagan Arabs and Christianity, dating with present the pagan Arab ideal of marriage to the closest possible relative (cf. Speer, 1911, p. 467) goes way to the Christian rule against it. We can note, however, that upon this matter in another way. We can say that a certain value (endogamous marriage) ordinarily associated with Sphere 1 has been sacrificed to a principle of an opposite value which is associated with Sphere 3 (Sect), and Sphere 3 seems a perfectly handy handle on opposing and prohibitive moral arrows.

The preference for minimal lineage exogamy, for which there is actually an specific rule, does not appear really to be a matter of the lineage endogamy principle, where it is considered to fall evident, while, the following factors must be considered:

1. Most of the lineages are very small, and this greatly reduces the chances that an individual will or can select a lineage-mate as a spouse. Lineage endogamous does occur, though in small numbers. Such marriages are fairly evenly distributed among the lineages as a whole with the exception of a heavy concentration of them in the lineage which is by far the largest in the village.

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] only one exception to this rule in al-Mlisanil. In this case, the son was born while the family was living in Australia.

Special formal titles are addressed to no one except the priest, the mayor, the elected members, and the doctor. Otherwise, personal names and kinship terms are used. It is significant that when a villager addresses another who is definitely the senior, he never under any circumstances uses the Arabic equivalents of "Mr." or "Mrs." To do this would be a grave insult, for it would imply that the person addressed is considered to be a stranger and an outsider. "Paternal uncle" or "aunt" are the kinship terms most commonly used in such cases (which include the address of one's father- and mother-in-law), although the well-known teknonymous formula (for example, "Abu 'Abdallah" — "father of 'Abdallah") is often employed. (It can also be used in a joking sense, but there is never any confusion in this matter.)

Space does not allow any further elaboration on the intricacies of the system of kinship terms which is used in al-Mlisanil. It can be said here only that these terms — which are verbal symbols of status and role — encompass the entire pattern of reciprocal obligations, social distance, and social sanctions which regulate interpersonal relations in the village. Over all, there is the abiding concept of everyone in the village being related. This is underlined here, perhaps, by the extensive use of the term *ibn*. The basic meaning of this word is a man who has married a member of one's immediate family, in other words, a sister's or a daughter's husband. But the term is extended to any man (of same age or younger) who is married to a member of one's lineage, and it is applied to an outsider who has married any village girl. Consequently, the outsider becomes an in-law of the entire community.

The lineage functions as units of identification by name (if necessary), as units for the economic support and aid of individual members on a reciprocal basis, and to some extent for the regulation of marriage. Marriage to a member of another lineage is preferred, provided the spouse is a member of the village. There are exceptions to this, but as a whole, the network of marriage ties — which become blood ties through women in the generations following the marriage — between the lineages is very complex. Thus the potential cohesiveness of each lineage is minimized for the benefit of village solidarity. There are, indeed, factions and cliques within the village, but its basic unity is never lost sight of.

The Arabs are often thought of as usually living their daily lives in large, extended family groups. This is not, and apparently never has been, true in al-Mlisanil. All the households, with one exception, consist of what sociologists call "nuclear" families. That is, they are composed, basically, of only the parents and the unmarried children. But the resemblance to the typical American family ends at this point, for though